171 According to Karl von den Steinen (2, 539), the Kamayurá voice
192 a nasalized meiũ, that is to say, almost meniũ (meyu and menyu
252 in his spelling). The same author (ibid., Fig. 54) reproduces a
262 spade decorated with geometric designs that was used by these Indians to turn the cakes over. In Tampiitáua I did not see any special implement for this purpose, and in Wagley's collection at the [Brazilian] National Museum there is nothing like it either. [Ed., the last two sentences concluding the section in Vol. 114 are omitted.]

[115:255] To the Tapirapé, the most important vegetable
262 dish is unquestionably cauí.' [Ed., five sentences are omitted.]
171 In sixteenth century references, the intoxicating drinks of the
192 Tupinambá appear as Kaa.wy and Kawi in the spelling of the German Hans Staden (e 2, f 3), Cahouin in Thevet (1, 121), and Caou-in in De Léry (125). The nasalized i indicated by the two
194 Frenchmen, and later pointed out in various Tupi languages by authors coming from different countries, does not exist either in Tapirapé or in Kamayurá, but in both these languages the u in kauí is nasalized, and the i is the tonic syllable (cf. Von den Steinen 2, 213). Furthermore, neither the [115:256] Tapirapé
[273] nor the Kamayurá make intoxicating beverages. The Tapirapé
272 designate with the word kauí their peanut, maize, manioc, cotton-
192 seed, squash, and banana soups, and even straight drinking water
171 (ỹ-kauí), while the Kamayurá use this term for the simple refreshing drink made of water and crumbled beiju (ibid.). [Ed., the remainder of the paragraph is omitted.]

The kauí of the Tapirapé is not always made exclusively from
272 one of the plants mentioned above. There are mixtures, such as crushed maize with chewed peanuts or with chewed cottonseed. No other plant aside from those listed are used, however, and no such soups are made, for example, with carí or yams. [Ed., the last paragraph on p. 256 and the first paragraph on p. 257 are omitted.]

[115:257] None of the [early] authors mentions expressly the
[114] three kinds of cauí that are made by the Tapirapé with cotton seeds,
[252] peanuts, and squash. As I have already mentioned, the cotton seeds are chewed with crushed maize. The resulting drink has a yellowish-green appearance and little flavor. It is true that the
171 Tupinambá of Bahia also found those seeds nutritious, but they pre-
252 pared them in a different fashion. Gabriel Soares de Sousa (235)

171 252 writes: "The natives eat these cotton seeds crushed and then boiled into a mush which they call mingau."

272 At the time of my stays among the Tapirapé, the monovĩ-kauĩ was the kind most frequently used and the one I myself took most often. I confess that I liked this drink so much and developed such nostalgia for it that in 1947, when I again met the people whose hammocks had hung beside mine 12 years earlier, the first wish I expressed was this, "Monovĩ-kauĩ." It is worth noting 114 191 272 that Gabriel Soares de Sousa (203), in describing the use of the peanut among the Tupinambá, does not mention it in connection with the preparation of a liquid. The same applies to squash, incidentally, of which, according to the sixteenth century Portuguese author (ibid., 201), "there are ten or 12 varieties" called gerumús by the Tupinambá of Bahia. The Tapirapé drink made 272 with crumbled squash is called kuruĩ-kauĩ. Kuruĩ may not be [137] one of the "varieties" of "gerumús" known in Bahia, but like them, in any case, it belongs to the edible Cucurbitaceae.

The vegetable substances used in preparing the various kinds [462] of Tapirapé kauĩ are crumbled or mashed by the women in three different ways, namely, between the hands, in the mortar, and between the teeth. Squash and bananas go between the hands; maize and manioc, the latter previously soaked in water and then sun-dried, go into the mortar; while maize, manioc, peanuts, and cotton seeds are chewed. In the Tapirapé language, amatykũ [192] means "I chew," and andjahãk, "I pound." [Ed., the last paragraph on p. 257, p. 258, and the first paragraph on p. 259 are omitted.]

[115:259] The custom of turning a food into mush by chewing 252 it is used by the Tapirapé not only to make cauĩ, but for the two [757] following purposes: they chew peanuts to make a paste with which they anoint their bodies when they have been made ill by spoiled [893] manioc, and they chew certain foods and give the mush to nursing children. These children are also given true cauĩ. It is to be supposed that observing the already considerable saccharification that takes place in chewing led the Indians to apply this procedure to the preparation of their favorite food. [Ed., the last paragraph on p. 259 and p. 260, which concludes the section in Vol. 115, are omitted.]

272 [116:55] Like the Tupinambá, the Tapirapé have three stages in the preparation of their masticated-fermented drink: (1) they

272 boil the substance to be masticated, (2) they chew it and thus add to it the ferment contained in the saliva, (3) they once more heat the liquid mixed with the chewed mass (cf. Staden q 4, Léry 124, Claude d'Abbeville 302). [Ed., the remainder of p. 55 and the first two paragraphs on p. 56 are omitted.]

[116:56] The Tapirapé heat the liquid mixed with the masti-
171 cated mass over the embers. In this connection, it is well to quote
272 Georg Wilhelm Freyreiss (102), who visited Espírito Santo in the first quarter of the nineteenth century and stated that "the Indians of the coast prepare cauí from manioc roots which are boiled and then chewed by the women, spit into a large pot, and covered with water. They leave it there to ferment. Also, probably to accelerate the fermenting process, they place the pan near the fire" (the italics are ours, and the original text of this sentence reads "... auch wohl um die Gährung zu befördern den Topf in die Nähe des Feuers setzt"). The German author adds that this drink is taken, as a rule, before 24 hours have elapsed. [Ed., a paragraph is omitted.]

Drinks whose fermentation is fostered by chewing may be
272 divided into intoxicating and non-intoxicating ones. The cauí of the Tapirapé belongs in the second category, for it is taken, like the one mentioned by Freyreiss, before 24 hours have elapsed from the time of mastication. [Ed., the last three lines on p. 56, pp. 57-58, and the first paragraph on p. 59 are omitted.]

[116:59] The fermented drinks are taken by the Tapirapé either warm or unheated. For example, on the morning following my arrival in Tampiitáua in 1947, when my little friend Ampitánia fulfilled my wish by serving me monovi-kauí, I took it in the manner most agreeable to the Tapirapé and to myself, that is to say, good
123] and hot. Ampitánia demonstrated her affection by filling up a truly gigantic pot during the night. She must have pounded and masticated a great deal. From the bubbling liquid she took out a goodly portion with a large gourd, stirred it with a smaller gourd to cool it off a little, and then placed the large gourd before me, putting into one of my hands the smaller gourd as a dish and in the other hand another gourd, still smaller, to serve as a spoon. Sitting in the girl's net, I voraciously swallowed the hot soup, sweetish and nutritious, half floury and half grainy, filling my "dish" over and over again from the large gourd until I had emptied it completely.

272 Cold cauí, however, is also enjoyed by these Indians. I often saw one of them wake up in the middle of the night and, while everyone slept, take a gourdful of cauí that still stood in a pot removed from the fire several hours earlier. [Ed., a paragraph is omitted.]

To the Tapirapé, the chewed and fermented drink represents not only the high point of festive banquets, but also the pièce de résistance of everyday meals, and its importance is well illustrated 773] by the fact that the flood myth ends with the following words: "When the flood ended, (the survivors) came out from under the earth, and there was cauí and many Tapirapé." [Ed., the last paragraph on p. 59, p. 60, and the first two paragraphs on p. 61 are omitted.]

[116:61] To summarize, we may say that the elements of the 171 cauí complex we have studied reveal a close cultural relationship 272 between the Tapirapé and the Tupinambá (1) in the name of the drink, (2) in the important role played by manioc and maize in its preparation, (3) in the above-mentioned three stages in the preparation of the drink, which is fermented by the saliva produced in chewing, (4) in the important role played in the diet by the various kinds of cauí prepared in this fashion. When set off against these similarities, the fact mentioned by certain sixteenth century authors that the Tupinambá, in contrast to the Tapirapé, got drunk on certain occasions is of little importance.

Unquestionably less close than this cultural relationship is that relating the Tapirapé, as far as the cauí complex is concerned, to the Tupi of the upper Xingu basin. The inhabitants of Tampiitáua hold in common with the Kamayurá the name of a non-intoxicating drink, but the manufacture and function of these drinks are entirely different.

Although it would be sufficient to eliminate two consonants [192] from the Karajá word kaluxí to transform it into the word kauí, I dare not build any hypotheses around possible connections between these two words. In any case, kaluxí is to the Karajá not only what cafèzinho [Tr., the frequent demitasse] is to the people of São Paulo, but also what kauí is to the Tapirapé, that is to say, an important aliment. There is also a similarity in the preparation of these drinks among the Karajá and the Tapirapé. It is true, however, that the former often omit the mastication. The fact that the various kaluxí I tasted were less thick than the maize, manioc, peanut, and cotton-seed kauí I tried, and different in their composition, does not

171 necessarily mean that Karajá women are unfamiliar with the
272 recipes for these Tapirapé drinks. They might have come to know them through the girls from the Tupi tribe who were abducted by the Karajá at various times and under various circumstances. [Ed., end of Vol. 116.]

[117:91] The Tapirapé do not eat meat raw or rare, but
252 roasted in the embers or broiled, while smaller fish are boiled in a pot. Fish are often tossed whole into the embers, that is, without being gutted. They are left there until they are charred on the outside. This manner of preparing them lends them a delicious flavor. [Ed., a paragraph is omitted.]

"I boil" is avún in Tapirapé, "I roast," aihyn, and "I broil,"
[192] amakaé. [Ed., the remainder of this paragraph and the subsequent paragraph are omitted.]

When studying the widespread distribution of the barbecue in
171 South America, Nordenskiöld (6, 135-137 and Map 15) distin-
252 guished two types, namely: (1) a quadrangular platform of sticks supported by four or, rarely, three stakes, and (2) three sticks set up, like stacked rifles, with a grille laid out between them horizontally. He lists (ibid., 136) the Tapirapé among those having the first type on the basis of the information provided by Krause (2). This author (ibid., 122, 407, 409, Plate 29, and Fig. 269 a-c) found several subspecies of that type with three or four supports, one of the supports being a tree. The stakes were not forked like those of the Tupinambá barbecue of the same type (Staden k 4,
[117:92] L 3, m 1, m 2, t 11; Léry 135; Claude d'Abbeville 294), which is apparently identical to those of the Karajá and Javahé seen by Krause (2, 251 and Plate 61). As far as the barbecue is concerned, however, the Tapirapé seem to differ even more from those tribes, since they also possess, as is shown in Photograph 33, the second type distinguished by Nordenskiöld and not mentioned by him as existing among the Tupinambá, Karajá, or Javahé. On the other hand, the same pyramid-shaped barbecue was found among the northern Kayapó (Krause 2, 387 and Plate 28) and the tribes of the upper Xingu basin visited by Von den Steinen (2, 236 and Fig. 30). To summarize, we may say that the inhabitants of Tamplitifua use both types of barbecue described by Nordenskiöld, while their neighbors, the Xingu Indians and the Tupinambá, are listed by the same author among the representatives having one type only.

4: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1943
SP22 Tapirape SP22

were tossing a bat out of a tree for food. These talked with Ikananeowi and invited him to return to their village, which was situated upon the lake. In the village he saw *periquitos* (Psittacidae) and many sacú (*Ramphides* sp.), birds which they keep as pets. The *anẽnga* had several pots of *kauí* (1) and invited Ikananeowi to eat with them. He refused for he saw that their *kauí* was made from human blood. Ikananeowi watched one spirit drink of the *kauí* and saw him vomit blood immediately afterwards; the shaman saw a second spirit drink from another pot and immediately spurt blood from his anus. He saw the *munpi anká* vomit up their entrails and throw them upon the ground, but he soon saw that this was only a trick; they would not die, for they had more intestines. After this visit the *munpi anká* called Ikananeowi father and he called them his sons; he visited them in his dreams frequently and he had *munpi anká* near him always. When Ikananeowi danced and sang in the annual shamanistic ceremony against Thunder (see page 84), he painted his chest and chin red with urucu, representing the *kauí* of blood which dreads from the mouths of the *munpi anká* after they vomit and he called these spirits to his aid in his songs. Other shamans have had familiar spirits but none have had such dangerous spirits as the *munpi anká*: "people were very much afraid of Ikananeowi, for these *anẽnga* are very dangerous".

In another dream told to me a shaman met the forest spirits called *owíga*. These have long hair wound in a mass on top of their heads and they carry one arrow for the bows with which they kill men. The *owíga* were afraid of the shaman, but when he shouted, "No, I am a shaman", they did not harm him. Instead they gave him food and helped him return through the deep forest to the village. Another shaman had *anẽnga* and saw as his familiars. These forest demons have protruding eyes and sharp pointed chins. They kill Tapirapé by grabbing them from behind as they walk unsuspectingly through the forest, clapping their hands over the victim's mouth and driving their pointed chins into the back of his neck. A man caught by one of these *anẽnga* dies gurgling and groaning, unable to speak; so, although found alive he may never explain what happened to him. A shaman with such dangerous familiars as these protects the laity by keeping his spirits under control.

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(1) *Kauí* is a thick soup-like drink prepared most usually from maize sometimes from several kinds of manioc. It is never alcoholic among the Tapirapé.

4: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1943
SP22 Tapirapé SP22

to avenge him, is generally not murdered (16). A strong shaman makes an effort to have a strong family group about him for protection. Informants could not remember that murdered shamans had ever been revenged by their familiar spirits, although one man made the point that shamans were murdered only by persons under the influence of great anger or grief, for people normally are afraid of the familiars of shamans. Special rites are observed by anyone who has murdered a shaman, to protect him and the rest of the tribe against possible danger. On the day following the murder the *morãtxandóra* must retire to his hammock and have cut of a white clay, *tat ĩinga*, and drink until he vomits of a brew made of boiling a man's leg ornament in water. Vomiting cleanses his body "of the blood of the shaman". The killer must paint his entire body black with genipa (*Genipa americana*) and put red urucu paint in his hair; he should also scratch his chest, arms, thighs, and back with teeth of the dog fish, just as he did in the ceremony he had performed as a young boy to make himself a strong adult. Then, each year at the annual ceremony during the harvests in May and June, all who have killed shamans must drink of kawiĩ (17) until they vomit, so cleansing themselves of the shaman's blood for the period until the next harvest.

DUTIES OF THE SHAMAN

Among the Tapirapé tobacco is a sacred plant necessary for curing and for all shamanistic activities; yet, while it is found widely near Tapirapé village and near their gardens, it is not strictly a cultivated plant. People know where a patch of tobacco grows and go there to pick it. Occasionally they transplant tobacco nearer to their houses or to their gardens but for the most part the patches seed themselves. When an

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(16) When I left the Tapirapé in May, 1941, a grudge existed between two men of high status because of the murder of a shaman. Kamairaho disliked, avoided, and criticized Kamairá because he had killed Kaulĩwuaĩ, Kamairaho's wife's father. The antagonism was never overt. When they met they treated each other formally and coldly. Other Tapirapé told me that Kamairaho's wife continually gossiped about the behavior of Kamairá's wife, "because her husband had killed Kamairaho's father".

(17) A brew made of a few grains of maize and much water. It is believed to be poisonous.

12: Wagley & Galvão E-5 (1939-1940)1948
SP22 Tapirape SP22

by laymen in short tubular wooden or clay pipes and by shamans, in tubular clay pipes, sometimes 12 inches (30 cm.) long.

The *Tapirapé* do not routinely plant tobacco as other crops. Occasionally, it is transplanted from scattered patches around the gardens and village to near the houses or gardens, but usually the patches merely seed themselves. A person who discovers a new patch, hastily surrounds it with a low fence to show his ownership of it.

No alcoholic beverages are known to the *Tapirapé*. Beverages made from manioc and maize are prepared as a food and are not allowed to ferment.

RELIGION

Tapirapé religion is based on the belief in two kinds of supernatural beings—disembodied souls of the dead, and malignant forest spirits of many kinds—both designated by one generic term, anhanga (spirit or shadow).

The anhanga flowers, human spirits or ghosts (ala or anhanga among the *Tapinambo*), live in abandoned villages and frequently come near to the villages of the living "because they are cold" and try to warm themselves close to the houses. The *Tapirapé* are afraid of meeting them and try not to go out at night, when the ghosts most frequently appear.

Souls of the dead continue to live for an undetermined period of time, then die and are transformed into animals. Anyone who hears the croak of a kururú frog (*Pipa pipa*) knows that it is the soul of a leader. A pigeon is the soul of a common man; a paca, that of a woman. The souls of the shamans have a different fate; they go to join Thunder.

In addition to the souls of the dead, there is a large number of malignant beings, also called anhanga, who dwell in the forest. They are very dangerous and kill as many *Tapirapé* as they find. Wará, a legendary hero and a great shaman, had the distinction of killing many anhanga, among whom were the awakú anká, by setting their long coarse hair on fire. The mumpiankú were beings who killed men in order to drink their blood. Some of these forest spirits have become domesticated by the *Tapirapé*, thanks to the powers of their shamans. Several times the *Tapirapé* men dance with masks representing the visiting spirits (pl. 19, *bottom, right*).

Rites.—The real ceremonial season is the rainy season, when the people are thrown together because they can neither farm nor hunt. Mask dances celebrate the visits of the various spirits (anhanga) to the men's house during the dry season. At the end of the rainy season the harvest ceremonial (kuá) and the ceremony of kawi (a soupike beverage made of sweet manioc or of maize) are held.

In the first few months of the rainy season, when the maize crop is threatened by electrical storms and by the first heavy rains, the shamans